

Salasika

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Female Spellcasters: Mandar Women Existence in Mantra

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ABSTRACT

Mantra is a series of words in the form of chanting prayers and hopes containing supernatural powers used to achieve certain goals. It is considered a part of the literary work of culture and presents in various aspects of life. In Mandar, mantras are often said by spellcasters. This study tried to narrate the role of women who cast a spell (positive) in preserving the ritual traditions of religion and culture in their daily lives and their existence as spellcasters. The research adopted the ethnography method. Data were obtained through interviews, discussions, observation, participation, and documentation in the form of notes, amulets, ancient manuscripts, photographs, and some other supporting data. The research was conducted in Polewali Mandar, West Sulawesi, where many women are part of society who are still chanting spells both orally and in writing. The results showed that mantras preserve their existence as they are passed down from generation to generation to formulate the future identity of the Mandar tribe.

KEYWORDS: *woman, spellcaster, existence, mantra, Mandar women*

INTRODUCTION

In Mandar, West Sulawesi, conventional women who have high supernatural and spiritual abilities still chant mantras. The chanted spell is not only for medicine but also for carrying out fishermen rituals, beauty care, strength, personal safety, etc. However, so far, outsiders only recognize the narrow sense of "Mandar mantra" as a negative identity. That is, it is used by the Mandar people whenever they are angry with someone. They can make the enemy's head flabby. The Mandar mantra has two sides, negative and positive.

According to Katrin Bandel (2006)¹

Here I just want to mention one example which seems to be quite prominent, the "mantra". Isn't it a work of traditional literature and a means of medication? Nowadays, the most prominent closeness of literature to the world of medicine is in the field of psychology/psychotherapy. In Indonesia, it is not just people who have mental disorders who are treated with words. Belief in mantras

¹ Katrin Bandel. (2006). *Dukun dan dokter dalam sastra Indonesia, dalam Sastra, Perempuan, Seks*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra,

is the belief in the power of words: words can shape reality, among other things, they can heal people, but also hurt people.

Even though mantra has positive and negative sides, for Bandel, it is a literary work as well as a means of treatment because the belief in mantra lies in the power of words. In line with Bandel, Hartarta (2010)² also sees mantra as a literary poem, he writes that:

Mantra is a method or idea as an affirmation of a certain goal that is stated as words considered to contain supernatural powers and created as a breakthrough to solve problems socially. In order not to have an understanding that is "just mystical and without explanation", I will see the mantra as a literary poem (free poetry) that needs to be analyzed textually and contextually (p. 1).

The positive side of mantra in Mandar culture is that it serves as a prayer. The mantra in Mandar, which is influenced by Islam, usually uses the local Mandar language and is juxtaposed with Arabic idioms such as *Kun Faya Kun*, basmalah, the pronunciation of Allah, and the names of the prophets. Mantra is a combination of Arabic and Mandar or Bugis languages, which is spoken, written, or made as amulets. Apart from incantations, researchers also found a lot of use of amulets. An amulet is a handle or a shield, an object that is brought everywhere.

Amulets usually contain the writing of the Qur'an that is combined with local symbols. The examples of amulets are pictures of animals, flowers, wood, and so on.

Amulets are usually written by people who are considered as *annangguru* or spiritual teachers. *Annangguru* refers to three different roles in society. The first is to refer to people who have special professions, for example, *annangguru lopi* or people who are skilled at building boats. Second, it is given to people who master the classical Islamic books or the yellow book. Third, it is used to address supernatural experts who can see unseen things (Zuhriah, 2020, p. 74-75). Those who write amulets are usually people who are old, have religious knowledge, or have inherited knowledge from their predecessors. The author met many *annangguru* females who used to write amulets for people when they asked for prayer. Female *annangguru* has good religious knowledge and is believed to have the ability to "see" or predict past and future events.

In addition to the female spiritual teachers, there are musicians (*Parawana*) who chant the mystical verses of religion and culture extracted from the teachings of Sufism, female shamans who learn prayer mantras, and spellcasters who are the younger generation who maintain the rituals of their parents and ancestors in the Mandar community, which adheres to a patriarchal system.

Mandar women have a role in casting spells. The power of women in this spiritual world indicates their existence. These female spellcasters may be referred to as spiritual-

² Arif Hartarta. (2010). *Mantra Pengasih*
Rahasia Asmara dalam 'Klenik' Jawa. Bantul:
Kreasi Wacana.

feminism (spiritual-feminism). Their identity as casters shows that Mandar women can "speak" and "fight" by casting spells.

Arif Hartarta's (2010) study of mantra is very comprehensive and complete. Hartarta revealed the phenomenon of mantra existence in society, the approach to mantras, the types of mantras, and the spell structure. However, it did not discuss the personality of the spellcaster.

A mantra in a more positive sense, namely as a prayer reading, is present at Mandar. Ismail's (2012) research in "Religion of Fishermen" has examined the Sufistic life of fishermen including the spells used by fishermen throughout their lives such as during fishing, ritual boat building, etc. According to him, Sufism in the life of fishermen is influenced by the local cleric Mandar who is called *Annangguru* Imam Lapeo. He becomes a reference for fishermen in performing rituals, namely reading mantras.

The use of amulets has been around for a long time since the Dutch colonial era. The following article provides insight into the use of amulets. Ahmad Baso (2005) in "Postcolonial Islam, Religious Affair, Colonialism, and Liberalism" book wrote about talisman as an amulet:

... several signs in Erekat and mystical activities that have the potential to give birth to instability are monitored as closely as possible: amulet, immune sciences. or Okanagan, and dark leaflets containing a will (reported from the Prophet Muhammad). The talisman in particular (is) an icon for

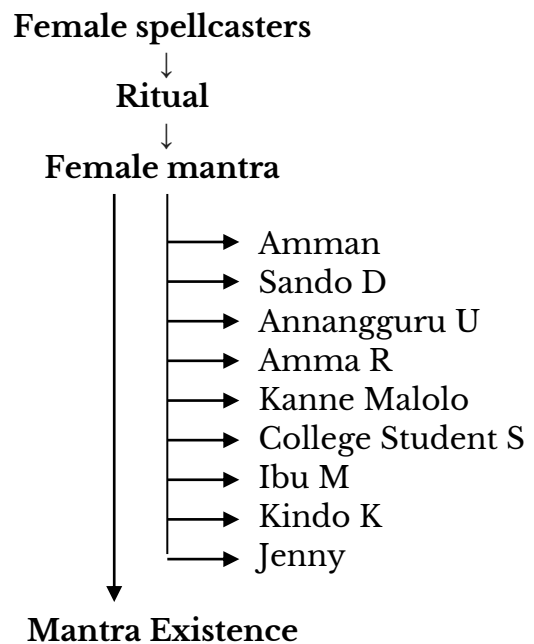
these Erekat and mystical groups (p. 202).

Baso further wrote that at that time, the Dutch were frightened by sacred objects such as amulets. An amulet is only an object that (is considered) have no value in an economic sense because amulets can be a stone, a sharp weapon, a piece of paper with Arabic letters on it, a piece of cloth, or a white or green belt. However, these objects contain supernatural powers, and immunity, so they are considered frightening.

Taufik Rahayu's research discussed the issue of Sundanese women in a magazine called Mangle. At the beginning of his paper, Taufik depicted the story of sacred Sundanese women's mythology that highly respected women until the new order limited the movements of Sundanese women.

METHODS

Framework



Research Problem

This research tries to narrate the positive role of female spellcasters in preserving religious and cultural ritual traditions in their daily lives and fabricating the future identity of the Mandar tribe.

This research describes the mantras of older women and the female millennial generation and how mantras preserve their existence in this digital era.

Two main points are discussed in this journal. The first discussion is about the spells recited by female spellcasters in Mandar. The second discussion is on how female spellcasters maintain their existence in this digital era?

It is hoped that the study will reveal the spells chanted by female casters in Mandar and how female spellcasters maintain their existence in the digital era.

The research method used was ethnography. The data were obtained through interviews, discussions, observation, participation, and documentation in the form of notes, amulets, ancient manuscripts, photographs, and some other supporting data. This research was conducted in Polewali Mandar, West Sulawesi, where many women were part of society who were still chanting spells both orally and in writing.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Rituals and Mandar Women

Ritual is an activity related to religious and cultural ceremonies (Arquiza, 2010)³ has explained that the rituals are;

... All of us are traditionalists in our ways and within the context of our time, ritualistic. Ritual and rites are a collective response to a certain fear of another ventured. For so long as there is fear, people will not stop from doing rituals to appease the sources of their fear and to assuage their fear and themselves consoled of their fear. The old society's sources of fear were the unseen, the spirits, ghosts, and metaphysical existence that the folk's limit of reasoning technology (i.e. artificial or natural intelligence and cultural advancement). Could not grasp and explain. So, they resort to some rituals to appease the offended spirits, to distract or drive-away the malevolent and to attract the good ones. Usually, propitiations are done in a form of commemorations or celebrations through an offering of food, objects, and valuables (i.e. such as gold or silver coins, dinnerware or jewelry) and through symbolic acts or cultural objects such as songs, musical

³ Arquiza, Quilling, Mucha, Shim. (2009). *Gumbrubyung and rebut, Essential Elements of Disorder in Javanese, Tradisi Lengkap, It's Past Revisited*. A Final Paper Submitted to Professor Djoko Suryo, Professor Mark Woodward. Yogyakarta: ICRS, Gadjah Mada University.

instrument, and performances that are held to be demanded and favored by the spirits. Noise in every form and manner usually accompany the rituals both to set the phase or mood and to emphasize the grandeur, fanfare, and religiosity of the ritual activity (p. 7).⁴

In addition, Zuhriah, Irawan, and Andi Wahyu (2019) stated:

That means; We are all traditional people in our way and without the context of the present time, obeying religious customs. Rituals and rites (ceremonial rites) are a collective response to a particular fear rather than an act of risk, danger. That long-standing fear, the people will not stop performing many rituals to soothe from the source of their fears and to assuage their fears as well as to comfort themselves from their fears. The source of the ancient people's fear was the invisible, the spirits, the ghosts, and the existence of metaphysical beings to which limited people responded to technology (for example, artificial or natural

intelligence and cultural advancement). Cannot be grasped and explained. So they resort to some rituals to calm down from the disturbance of other beings, to divert or carry away envious hearts and attract the attention of other good. Usually, peace occurs in a form of remembrance or celebration through the offering of food, goods, and ⁵

The ritual discussed in this research is simple rituals done before performing a spell. There are stages before chanting a mantra, namely praying, taking a bath, or taking water, etc. The example is that Kindo K, one of the spell casters, performs a midnight prayer ritual before pounding the rice as a cold powder for treating his patient's face.

Flashback of Mandar Women

For people of South West Sulawesi (Sulselbar), they believe in the existence of *To Manurung*. *To Manurung* means a person who descends from the sky. The Mandar people consider *To Manurung* as the first human concept on earth. Andy in Zuhriah (2020)⁶ wrote that the first human being in Mandar was *To Manurung*. The myth of *Manurung* also includes the concept of obedience to the power of a king who comes from the sky and is

⁴ According to Arquiza, the ritual is a way to calm yourself from the source of the fear of unseen creatures even though the world has developed. This ritual usually includes food, objects, valuables, and actions that can be noisy but emphasize pomp, pleasure, as well as religion.

Ritual is part of the ceremonial procedure. But more than that, the ritual is something that is closely related to the concept of food (eat), worship (pray), and love (love). In other words, the ritual is the concept of worship, thanksgiving food from the results of offerings, which is done in the name of love continuously so that it becomes a habit.

⁵ Possessions (for examples, such as gold or silver coins, tableware or diamonds) and through symbolic art or cultural objects such as songs, musical instruments, and performances which are held for the solicitation and kindness of spirits. Noise and manners in rituals both shape the state or mood and emphasize greatness, joy, and religious rituals.

⁶ Zuhriah. (2020). *Imam Lapeo Wali Dari Mandar Sulawesi Barat* (p. 68). Yogyakarta; Gading.

placed as a unifying figure who restores society and builds an organized government.

A folk tale about *To Manurung* written by Zuhriah (2017)⁷ depicts *To Manurung* as a woman coming from the sky, an angel from heaven. The angel that came down to earth transformed into a female dove. The dove descended on the Mandar, and she was enjoying her life on earth. Puang Dzoro, the master of the bit, is a man from a noble family who likes gardening. While he was gardening, he saw a dove. The dove was taken and raised in his house. one-day Puang Dzoro returned to his house, he saw a beautiful woman. The beautiful woman turned out to be the pigeon she kept. They fell in love with each other and got married. Until that woman gave birth to a baby boy. It turned out that the woman had a good voice but she didn't want to sing in front of her husband, Puang Dzoro. He said, when you hear my voice, you will fall asleep, and I will fly to the sky. Her husband said I will hug you in a sarong. When the woman sang melodiously, Puang Dzoro fell asleep and the woman slipped into the sky and became an angel again. Puang Dzoro regretted what he did. He then remembered his wife's message to put their baby boy on the ceiling of the house every morning. There, the nymphs would nurse and bathe him. Until now, the Mandar people believe that the descendants of Puang Dzoro are descendants of an angel, *To Manurung*. Moreover, if you have a beautiful face, that is the legacy of an angel.

From this story, we get information that Mandar's ancestors believed that their female ancestors were an, a woman who is very valuable, priceless, and difficult to reach.

Other stories which was also written by Zuhriah (2017)⁸ about Mandar women are the cosmology of the mermaid and queen of the sky.

The original cosmological story of the Mandar people is depicted in the story of a fisherwoman, the mother of Cicci, and Kaco. The story begins when their father went to the sea to look for fish while the mother acted as a single parent at home to care for, look after, and educate her children. Amid her busy role as a mother, the woman weaved sarongs, sarongs of Mandar. One time her children wanted to eat fish even though it was forbidden by her father to eat them, however, the mother still gave the fish to her children. When her husband came home from fishing and found out about this, he was angry and split his wife into two. The first half that was thrown into the sea and became a mermaid, and the other, the second half, was thrown into the sky and became the queen of the sky.

Respecting women cannot be separated from the concept that *To Manurung* is not just a person who descended from the sky. *To Manurung* is a person who shines (has Nur) and is also defined as a person who comes down from the mountain, and a person who got off the boat to create changes in the place where he stayed or the place

⁷ Zuhriah & Rahmah, Nur. (2017). *Kisah To Manurung Mahluk Yang Turun Dari Langit* (pp. 69-74). Buol: Lasaripi.

⁸ Zuhriah. (2017). *I Cicci, I Kaco, Anna Kanne Pakande Ate (Si Cicci, Si Kaco, dan Nenek Pemakan Hati)*. Kebumen: Intishar Publishing.

where he got off. Thus, they are also said to be missionaries who carry out a mission and visionaries who have a vision for the future in a society or area.⁹

From the two stories above, we can see that the Mandar people have great respect for female figures. The role of Mandar women, despite the injustice to women in Siwaliparri written by Zuhriah (2019), cannot be underestimated due to the concept of collaboration between husband and wife in Mandar in earning a living only in the area of work outside the home, not in the home, the kitchen.¹⁰

Women Working Mantra

In Mandar, in general, many religious rituals practice mantras. Prayer readings inherited from the ancestors who speak Mandar are combined with prayers in Islam. Among them is the ritual *Kuliwa tola Bala* spelled by fishermen to cast away the impending dangers.

Zuhriah (2016: 169) writes that *tola Bala* when in Java is referred to as *larung*, sea pick, *slametan*, etc. Another example of using mantras in Mandar is the mantra or *jappi-jappi* used by women or housewives when going to get rice.

The *jappi* for this purpose is "*Prophet Muhammad massau, angel matambai*" meaning The Prophet Muhammad who drew (the rice) and the angel who will add.

If in the folklore of the archipelago, Nawang Wulan is the angel who mediates a grain of rice so that when it is cooked it will be enough for her and her husband, Jaka Tarub. So, Nawang Wulan did not have to bother pounding rice. However, Mandar women, when taking rice from her rice bowl, recite the above mantra as a hope that the rice will not run out immediately and the rice will be enough to be eaten by many people. When the food is enough for all, it means the food has a blessing.

In addition to enchanting things like rice and performing *kuliwa*, the Mandar people are also accustomed to asking for mantras by meeting someone (a woman) who is considered an *annangguru* (spiritual teacher), or someone intelligent and knowledgeable in religion and culture according to their talents and their respective abilities. They also visit a *Sando* or shaman, to ask for help when they are sick, to make a white face, or to seek solutions to life problems by reciting prayers, mantras, or making amulets. The millennial generation of spell users in this digital era still practices spells so that their lives can run well.

Current female spellcasters and spell users in Mandar

1. Amma N (spiritual teacher)

Amma N is an old woman who became a spiritual teacher. she is usually visited by the community to ask for prayer and blessings. Amma N will pray for the community with the prayers taught by her father. According to Amma N, her father studied from *Imam Lapeo*, a person who

⁹ Zuhriah. (2020). *Imam Lapeo Wali Dari Mandar Sulawesi Bara* (p. 69). Yogyakarta: Gading.

¹⁰ Zuhriah. (2019). *Siwaliparri: The Concept of Gender Equality in the Family of Fishermen Mandar. Call for Paper of the 35th PGI Religions seminar and Workshop on the theme of Religion, State and Gender Justice.*

was considered as a guardian in Mandar.

At first, Amma N refused to be interviewed because she was not ready that day. On the other day, he was also not ready because his family passed away. According to Amma N, there was an *ussulhad* influence. In Mandar, *Russell* is a sign that must be considered for life to run properly (well). The example of *Russel* is not to interview at the time of death (a family member who died) because it is *primal*, *Jamali*, *ora ilok*, or inappropriate.

The conversation with Amma N and the way he recited a prayer revealed that Amma N's prayers combined Arabic and the local language, Mandar. He spelled the mantras for someone who asked him for blessings.

The following is Amma N prayer, the mantra.

"Oh angel ... (name to be prayed for). Allahumma shalli ala sayyidina Muhammad waala Ali Muhammad. Wai mapaccina ... (person prayed for), wai mapaccina puangalla taala, napalaiang Ingganna na Najisna, Inggannana dosana. Wal yatalataf wala yus iran na bikum ahada. O angel help protect tori salama lao dipuanggalla taala, perauangana tori mai dale hallalna. Allahumma shalli 'ala sayyidina Muhammadin abdika wanabiyyika sanity Nabiiyyil ummiyyi wa'ala over washahbihi wabarik wasallim tasliimam biqodri' adhomati dzaatika fikulli

waqtin wahiin. Amen yaa rabbal alamin. "

Below is the free translation of the prayer recited by Amma N.

O angel ... (someone's name). Salawat upon the prophet. The clean water (someone's name), the clean water of God Almighty, cleanses all his uncleanness, all his sins. Give tenderness to his heart. O angel, asks (God) salvation for him, oh God, Allah SWT, ask (God) the sustenance of his halal. O Allah, you pour prosperity on our prince (leader) Prophet Muhammad, a servant of You and Your Messenger, your Prophet who is ummi, his family, and his companions. Amen oh Allah.

When praying for someone who asks her to pray, Amma N mentions angels, mentions the name of the person being prayed for, reads the *ummi* prayer. He also asked for God's clean water, may God give His holy water to cleanse the unclean and sins of His servants. Amma N combines Muslim (Islam) prayers that chant the name of Allah Allah SWT, prayers on the Prophet Muhammad, prayers on *ummi*, and uses cultural prayers in the local language, Mandar.

For Amma N, water is interpreted as a medium for purification, it is pure and purifying. In this case, water as a means of cleansing an unclean thing, which means cleaning one's self or one's sins so that when someone is clean, his sustenance runs smoothly.

2. Sando (shaman) D

Sando D is a female shaman, or in the Mandar language, or *patandah*. Patandah is someone who can see what happens both in the past and in the future (forecaster). Usually, she is always visited by people who want to find out where his lost belongings are or seek the cause of an illness of a family member. People come to her house with rice, sugar, and other foodstuffs or just give alms with cigarettes or money.

Usually, Sando D will first send a prayer to Imam Lapeo. He sends Al Fatihah to Imam Lapeo to ask Imam Lapeo (a deceased guardian) as his mediator with God because she had a spiritual experience when she was sick for a long time. At that time, she dreamed of being visited by Imam Lapeo and then given the knowledge of knowing the unseen and treating others.

Sando D usually reads a prayer in the Mandar language asking Allah SWT to give strength, safety, health, helps, etc., based on the requests of the people who come to her. After that, she will take her prayer beads and recite dhikr.

For Sando D, the medium is prayer and remembrance. Through her prayer beads, she can find out the past, present, and future of the person coming to her. By using the Mandar language in her prayers, Sando D uses local wisdom, *local genius* to be more comfortable in praying, and more heartfelt because the Mandar mantra she reads is a mantra that has been passed

down from generation to generation.

3. Annangguru U (spiritual teacher)

Annangguru U is an old woman who is considered a spiritual teacher. She is the granddaughter of Imam Lapeo. Because she has a relationship with Imam Lapeo, she is considered to have "*karamah*" like that of Imam Lapeo. She is usually visited by people who ask for prayers, for example, for a business to run well, etc.

Annangguru U sometimes also makes amulets for people who ask for them. However, the *talisman* was not written down right away. Usually, Annangguru U will perform special prayers, *hajat*, and pray specifically for those who ask. The amulet is written on paper. There are also amulets inscribed with the verse of chairs and given local symbols such as pictures; flowers, wood, or even the photo of someone who is considered charitable.

Annangguru U reads a prayer before writing an amulet. She reads a prayer in Arabic for people according to their wishes such as being loved by husband or wife, hard to be harmed, etc. Thus, it becomes something that is maintained by its existence and place.

For example, usually, Annangguru U asks the person who asks for an amulet to wrap the amulet in a piece of paper in a cigarette box, which is golden yellow or gray. The amulet also cannot be brought into the

bathroom because the amulet has an Arabic script on it.



Figure 1. An example of the Amulet with the photo of Imam Lapeo

4. Amma R (masseuse)

Amma R is a widow of five children. She admitted that she got the knowledge of massage from his father, who was also a masseuse. His father got the knowledge from Amma R. According to Amma R, he is the only one who learns the knowledge of massage from her father. Unlike the other brothers and sisters who seemed to be less concerned about their father's skills, Amma R used to intensely ask her father about massaging procedures. In the end, she is the one who inherits the knowledge.

The knowledge was given on Friday. His father advised her to learn to be a better person and help people in distress through the massage knowledge she has. Her intention is sincere and selfless unless she is given alms (reward) by the person she has helped.

Before doing the massage, Amma R will ask for an empty container to be poured with Mandar oil or *Virgin Coconut Oil* (VCO). After that, Amma R will

pray and recite a mantra. She will read bismillah, mention the prophet Muhammad SAW, and pray "May God fixes the damaged, collect the scattered, etc." in Mandar language for the Mandar oil.

5. Kanne Malolo

Kanne Malolo is a beautiful and young woman who is almost a hundred years old. His hair was still black, and his skin was not wrinkled. Her beauty secret is said to always take a shower in the morning and move (work). Even though she has many mantras, but they are not meant for everyday use. They are to be used only at certain times, on important occasions so that the spell can continue to function (efficient).

6. The student

Young S told the researchers that before studying in Makassar, she was given a special *jappi-jappi* by her grandmother, who was called Kanne Malolo. Malolo means beautiful in the Mandar language.

Her beautiful grandmother gave her *jappi-jappi* (incantation) so that the young woman would look prettier and have a strong aura. Moreover, the spell will also help her when she has to deal with important people such as lecturers. The mantra is spelled by reciting bismillah and saying "I am as beautiful as Fatimah ..."

Apart from the beautiful mantra, S is also given a mantra to be brave with people, not to be

seen as weak, and strong. Therefore, gentle S is seen as a strong woman who has principles.

7. Mrs. M

Mrs. M is a housewife who looks young at the age of 40, beautiful, and has a son who is in his teen. Ibu M also has a spell or *jappi* given by her parents to make her look more beautiful and youthful.

However, when using the *jappi*, Mrs. M's mother must also use the *jappi* as an antidote or shield. She also casts a spell that serves as her deterrent or shield. The shield here means that when people see her beauty, she must be able to keep men from exploiting her because they fall in love with her. Even the girls will not be jealous of her beauty. The *jappi* is called *painting* in Mandar. *Painting* is a wall, boundary, distance, or defense from anything harmful.

When Mrs. M reads a chant in the Mandar language to make her beautiful, she says, "The beauty of Fatimah that I have is the blessing from God Almighty."

She will also read the shield spell by saying: "*Prophet Muhammad dialog, Ali site, Fatimah di pondou. Barakkana pole di puang Allah taala.*"

The meaning is that Prophet Muhammad is in front of me, Ali RA is beside me and Fatimah RA is behind me. The blessings are from God Allah SWT.

Mrs. M always includes the statement of *Barakkana pole is in*

the puang of Allah Taala because she thinks everything happens because of God's blessing. This is similar in meaning with "Kun fayakuun". However, Ibu M is afraid to use that sentence because she thinks that the sentence is God's words and is too high for a servant like herself to say.

8. Kindo P (cold powder maker)

Kindo P is a beautiful old woman who lives alone. She lives near a hill that is often visited by people, especially women such as girls with problems with her face like acne, dull skin, beauty, and even soulmate.

Kindo P will make wet powder for them. The wet powder is a traditionally made powder that is mixed with plain water or flower water before being applied on the face. Before making wet powder or tapping *ba'da* in Mandar language, Kindo P will perform the ritual with *tahajud* prayers and the intention to recite people who want to use the prayer powder.

For Jenny, one of the people asking for her helps, Kindo P performed *tahajud* prayers and wishes in the middle of the night. Then, the next day, she prepared rice, spices, leaves, and flowers. Kindo P mixed them and mashed them in a mortar to make them into face powder, wet powder.

After the powder was made, Kindo P asked Jenny to come and pray for her face. Jenny said kindo P was not just praying for her face in Arabic. Kindo P also gave her a mantra that she would

recite every night before applying his wet powder before bed. The recitation of the mantra is "*Assalamualaikum. Namandundua wai salamana puang. Wai mapaccinna puang. Wai surugana puang. Wai pulana puang. Wai lolonna dimakka puang. E puang Allah ta'ala. Prophet Muhammad pasirianga tori, posituyuangi.*"

The meaning is "May greetings and peace be upon you. I will drink the water of God's salvation. God's clean water. The water of heaven is God. Zamzam water, the water flowing in Mecca (belongs to) Allah. O Allah SWT, Prophet Muhammad SAW, give me shame, give me the ability to be."

Kindo P prays in Arabic and Mandar language. The use of the wet powder is proceeded by greeting, then the request to God bless the water so that it is safe to drink. The water of God is clean. Holy water that comes from heaven, Zam-zam water from Mecca.

Next, she will also say "O God, O Prophet SAW who become the creed of man (for the confession of their Muslim faith), may this mantra be able to give a miracle

because otherwise, the mantra will be a shame. That is, this mantra will be a shame when this mantra does not work." When the mantra works, it means that God answers the prayer of Kindo P.

9. Jenny

Jenny (not her real name) had a problem with acne on her face. Jenny felt no man approach her as she has a broken face. She visited Kindo P's house and revealed the problem of her face. In response to her request, Kindo K made spelled cold powder for her.



Figure 2. An example of cold or wet powder of the Mandar tribe made from rice, spices, certain leaves, and flowers

Table 1. Female Spellcasters

Ritual	Mantra	Media	Purpose / Purpose	Description
1. Amma N, ± 100 years <i>a spiritual teacher, Parrawana (a singer as well as a tambourine beater)</i>				
Read mantra directly	<i>Shalawat</i> on the prophet. Reading something in Mandar language.	Drinking water or without any media at all	Ask for blessings, sustenance, etc.	The mantra is from her father who studied with Imam Lapeo
2. Sando D, ± 100 years <i>Shaman, Patandaharus (see past, present, and future) a kind of forecaster</i>				
Wear tasbih, recite zikir; visitors bring rice, sugar, and other kinds of food, give alms informs of cigarettes or money sincerely	Send prayers, read Al Fatihah to Imam Lapeo, to ask Imam Lapeo (his guardian mediator with God); reads the Mandar prayer, asks Allah SWT so that the people who come to her are given strength, safety, health, etc.; read something from her ancestors (local wisdom)	Drinking water or without any media at all	Want to know the location of lost property; seek the cause of a family member's disease	She had a spiritual experience when she was ill for a long time. At that time, she dreamed of being visited by Imam Lapeo and then given the knowledge to know the supernatural and to treat others.
3. Annangguru U, ± 75 years <i>Spiritual teacher, a descendant of Imam Lapeo, considered to have "karamah" owned by Imam Lapeo</i>				
Write a talisman, perform special prayers, wishes (Some <i>talismans</i> are inscribed with the verse of chairs and given local symbols such as pictures; flowers,	Send prayers to Imam Lapeo.	Drinking water or without any media at all, paper to be saved	People ask for prayers for their business to run well, etc. Sometimes she also makes a <i>talisman</i> for a person. However, the talisman is not directly written, and it becomes something that maintains its existence and place.	Learn from his mother who was the daughter of Imam Lapeo.

Ritual	Mantra	Media	Purpose / Purpose	Description
wood, or even the photo of someone who is considered charitable.				
4. Amma R, ± 60 years old, Traditional				
Masseur using Mandar oil or Virgin Coconut Oil (VCO), pray and cast spells	Recite the bismillah, mention the prophet Muhammad SAW, and pray "May God fixes the damaged, collect the scattered, etc." in Mandar language for the Mandar oil		This science is intended to learn to be a better person and to help people in need. Her intention is sincere and selfless unless she is given alms (reward) by the person she has helped.	The knowledge is from her father who is a professional masseur. Her father got that knowledge from his grandfather. The skill of massage is hereditary.
5. Kanne Malolo (Beautiful Grandmother), ± 90 years, A farmer of chocolate, palm, etc.				
-	Read the basmalah then say "I am as beautiful as Fatimah RA," etc.	Face level	To look beautiful, authoritative, and liked by people.	Kanne Malolo is pretty old. Her hair is still black, and her skin is not wrinkled. The secret of her beauty is a morning shower and work. Although she has many spells it is not meant to be used every day.
6. Student S, the granddaughter of Malolo, ± 25 years				
	Read the basmalah and say "I am as beautiful as Fatimah RA," etc.		S is given a mantra to be brave with people, not to be seen as weak, and strong. Thus, the gentle S is seen as a strong woman with principles.	S got a mantra from his grandmother to look more beautiful and a strong aura, especially in front of lecturers. The mantra will help her deal with the lecturers.

Ritual	Mantra	Media	Purpose / Purpose	Description
7. Mrs. M, ± 25 years old, Housewife				
	<p>"The beauty of Fatimah that I have is the blessing from the Almighty God."</p> <p>She will also recite her shield mantra by saying:</p> <p>"Prophet Muhammad dialog, Ali site, Fatimah di pondou.</p> <p>Barakkana pole di puang Allah taala. "</p> <p>The meaning is that Prophet Muhammad is in front of me, Ali RA is beside me and Fatimah RA is behind me. The blessings are from God Allah SWT.</p> <p>Mrs. M always includes the statement of <i>Barakkana pole is in the puang of Allah Taala</i> because she thinks everything happens because of God's blessing. This is similar in meaning with "Kun fayakuun".</p>			<p>Mrs. M has a mantra or <i>jappi</i> given by his parents to look more beautiful and youthful.</p> <p>However, when using the <i>jappi</i>, Mrs. M's mother must also use the <i>jappi</i> as an antidote or shield. She also casts a spell that serves as her deterrent or shield. The shield here means that when people see her beauty, she must be able to keep men from exploiting her because they fall in love with her. Even the girls will not be jealous of her beauty. The <i>jappi</i> is called <i>painting</i> in Mandar. <i>Painting</i> is a wall, boundary, distance, or defense from anything harmful.</p>
8. Kindo K, ± 100 years old, A maker of powder				
<i>Tahajud</i> and midnight prayer for the people coming to her for helps, prepare rice, spices, leaves, and flowers, mix them and	<p>"Assalamualaikum. Namandundua wai salamana puang. Wai mapaccinna puang. Wai surugana puang. Wai pulana puang. Wai lolonna dimakka puang. E puang Allah ta'ala. Prophet</p>	Kindo P prays in Arabic and Mandar language. The use of the wet powder is proceeded by greeting, then the request to	Girls with problems with her face like acne, dull skin, beauty, and even soulmate.	Kindo P will make wet powder for them. The wet powder is a traditionally made powder that is mixed with plain water or flower water before being applied on the face. Before

Ritual	Mantra	Media	Purpose / Purpose	Description
mash them in a mortar to make them into face powder, wet powder	<p>Muhammad pasirianga tori, posituyuangi. "</p> <p>The meaning is "May greetings and peace be upon you. I will drink the water of God's salvation. God's clean water. The water of heaven is God. Zamzam water, the water flowing in Mecca (belongs to) Allah. O Allah SWT, Prophet Muhammad SAW, give me shame, give me the ability to be."</p> <p>Next, she will also say "O God, O Prophet SAW who become the creed of man (for the confession of their Muslim faith), may this mantra be able to give a miracle because otherwise, the mantra will be a shame. That is, this mantra will be a shame when this mantra does not work."</p>	<p>God bless the water so that it is safe to drink. The water of God is clean. Holy water that comes from heaven, Zam-zam water from Mecca.</p>		making wet powder or tapping ba'da in Mandar language, Kindo P will perform the ritual with <i>tahajud</i> prayers and the intention to recite people who want to use the prayer powder.
9. Jenny, ± 35 years old, An entrepreneur				
				She had an acne problem. Jenny felt no man approached her as she had a broken face.

The Existence of the Female Spell Mantra

There is a saying, “ancestors have noble behavior, behave noble, tomorrow you will be ancestors too”.¹¹ If we want to be noble, we must be virtuous by seeking knowledge from a particular person, a teacher.¹²

Mantra is a science with a wide dimension of meaning. A mantra leader, before having the mantra itself, will seek knowledge about the mantra and learn the mantra.¹³ The mantra itself can be obtained when given directly (revealed) from a teacher to certain students or from parents to certain children.

This spiritual hierarchy is obtained from generation to generation when a teacher has an inner closeness with his/her student, or and a parent and the biological child (biological offspring). Mantras or knowledge are passed down to a particular person. For example, Amma N obtained a spell from her father directly. Her father obtained a spell by learning directly from his spiritual teacher, Imam Lapeo. However, the knowledge of mantras can be learned from one's grandfather through a dream, like Kindo K's experience.

From here, mantras can still exist by the passing down of knowledge

from a teacher to a student, from a father to his son, from a grandfather to his grandson. It can also either be learned directly or come through a dream. The implementation becomes a tradition passed down from generation to generation that is implemented personally and passed on to future generations by choice. Thus, the mantra remains sacred and guarded.

Only a few millennials want to accept the existence of spells because they put more trust in the information from social media and external (western) technology. Some of the millennials who still interpret and practice mantras for the needs of their lives are college students S, and Jenny.

Thus, women seek knowledge, learn the spell, and get a mantra from their efforts. The mantra is obtained from the spiritual closeness to their teachers, or from the parents.

CONCLUSION

Existence of female spell casters in Mandar cannot be overlooked. They are involved in various areas of life, helping deal with the meaning of life with spells. Mantra is the legacy of ancestral knowledge (Mandar-centric) because it is the manifestation of the values of past knowledge, high local wisdom of Mandar. Building ancestral knowledge systems as a conceptual framework for this research has the scholarly significance of our research is twofold: (1) it develops a framework for critical introspection and connectivity for decolonizing research, and (2) it promotes a multiplicity of knowledge systems in

¹¹ Our ancestors had noble behavior. Tomorrow - the day after we become ancestors then behave nobly. Noble by seeking knowledge because seeking knowledge including jihad and martyrdom. So, ask, think, and dig for information by proving. Find the right place to ask. Not to people who confess because people who confess are people who still need recognition.

¹² Teachers and students are human beings quoted one by one, so be aware of the existence of others so that we find the path of truth.

¹³ So take his knowledge orally rather than from the writing learned.

the academy. This indigenous feminism is an intersectional dimensions and practice of feminism that focuses on decolonization, indigenous sovereignty, and human rights for Indigenous women and their families. The focus is upon Indigenous women being empowered in the context of Indigenous cultural values and priorities, rather than mainstream feminism. Indigenous communities are diverse, with some women holding considerable power within their tribal nations, and many others living in patriarchal communities. Women who hold power at home have differing goals from those who are still struggling for basic human rights on the home front.

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